16.

AN

ADDRESS

To the Honourable

City of LONDON,

And all other

Cities, Shires and Corporations,

Concerning their Choice of a

New Parliament.

Together with a True

Character of Popery

AND

Arbitrary Government.

Humbly Presented by *C. B.*

Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris, & Carcere dignum
Si vis esse aliquid: ———

Rursus amor Patriæ ratione valentior omni.

Cuncta prius tentanda, sed immedicabile vulnus
Ense recidendum. ———

LONDON: Printed for *Allen Banks*, 1681.

ADDRESS

To the Honorable

City of LONDON,

And all other

Cities, Shires and Corporations,

Concerning their

Navy Preparations.

Together with a

Character of Pope,

AND

Cardinal Spinola.

The Epistle Dedicatory,

To all the Honest

CITIZENS of LONDON.

Gentlemen,

IT is not unknown to the rest of the Nation, how like your selves you have acted. What great things you have done for the Glory of God, and the Protestant Religion, for the Preservation of His Majesties Royal Person, and for the Peace and Safety of the whole Kingdom, is obvious to all persons that have consider'd your several Loyal Petitions to his Majesty, and candid Applications to the late excellent House of Commons: The just Harmony, and reciprocal Kindness betwixt your City and the Nations Representatives, have given no small Terrour to our Enemies, and no small Comfort to our Friends. I need not trouble you with any further instance, how much your proceedings influence the Countries, more than by putting you in mind how the Papists thought to ruine them, by laying you in Ashes. You are the only United Force that can oppose them, and You only can protect your Soveraign, as being the chief support of the Government, the chief Refuge of the People, and the Curb or Bridle to the unjust illegal Ambition of all Arbitrary and Evil men: and this made those Firebrands of the World, I mean the Jesuits, *(of whom* Martial *prophetically spoke, when he wrote,* Turba gravis Paci, placidæq; inimica quieti *) first endeavour to compass your destruction, before they made any attempt upon the Person of the King. Your late eminent choice of Officers, as Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder, &c. hath given much discontent to the Popish Party, who stand in need as well of corrupt* Juries, *as* Judges. *But above all, your most prudent Election of such untainted Members to serve in the last Parliament, did render to other Corporations so worthy a President, and your great Example was of so vast consequence to the rest of the Nation, that I may without flattery say, as we owe good Laws to a good Parliament, so must we in some measure attribute a good Parliament, to your good City. And therefore, Gentlemen, although I addres this Paper to all other Cities, Shires, and Boroughs in general, yet more particularly to You, the honest Citizens of* London, *whose Honourable Proceedings so highly conduce to the preservation of that Church, that King, and that People, for either of which, I would most freely render my self a Sacrifice; dreading no curse like that of a* Popish Successor, *and wishing no happiness more then his present Majesties long and prosperous Reign. Now as a Parliament must prevent the one, so does it at the same time help to preserve the other, the King's Life being no longer in danger of the Papists, after once the* Exclusive Bill *is pass'd. Upon the choice of this Parliament, depends the happiness or misery not only of his Majesties Dominions, but of the whole Protestant Religion, and of all the Reformed*

Churches

Churches in Christendom: A good Parliament may be a means to preserve the poor Hollanders *from becoming an innocent Victim to all our former and present Evil Counsels, as well as* Flanders *and the whole Empire from being reduced to the* French *Yoke; after which, the ruine of this Kingdom would be an unavoidable consequence: A good Parliament may advise his Majesty to such things as shall fortifie the Protestant Interest, and terrifie the* French *Tyrant into a greater moderation towards the disconsolate* Hugonots: *A good Parliament may retrieve the distressed Protestants in* Ireland, *from that second Popish Massacre which so daily threatens them: And last of all, as to our own Domestick concerns, a good* English *Parliament may secure us from our Enemies both abroad and at home; may encourage the Kings Evidence, after those many Discountenances they have receiv'd as well from Protestants as Papists; may make it appear not only more honest, but more safe, to discover a Plot, then to contrive one; may remove those distractions and fears which so daily amaze and threaten us; as also establish us in such peace, tranquility and plenty, as may render us a fit object for the Envy of all Christendom. Therefore* (Gentlemen) *since providence* (though against our wills) *hath once more transmitted our fortune into our own hands,* Let us not be weary of well-doing, *but present his Majesty with no worse a Parliament then the Last, who acted in all things for the glory of God, safety and honour of the King, and welfare of his three Kingdoms; in fine, such a Parliament it was, that no one could except against, but such guilty persons, who justly merited their Resentments, and for the same reason would decry all Parliaments whatsoever. And therefore if your Members be mostly the same again, you do thereby express that Gratitude, which they have justly merited from you by their former Services; as also justifie the prudence of your preceding choice: Neither is it a small benefit to the Nation, if you elect such men as are well acquainted with the manner of Proceedings in Parliament, and of whose integrity and prudence you have had a former tryal: this not being a time to enter Novices. However, to consult the publick Interest herein is best; and in so doing, that God would endue you with the Spirit of Judgment, and direct you to all things that may be for the good of King and Kingdom, is the daily and hearty prayers of*

(Gentlemen)

Your faithful humble Servant,

C. B.

AN

An Addreſs to the Honourable CITY *of* LONDON, *and all other* CITIES, SHIRES, *and* CORPORATIONS, *concerning their Choice of a new* PARLIAMENT.

Hebr. 12. 16. *Leſt there be any prophane perſon, as* Eſau, *who for one Morſel of Meat ſold his Birth-right.*

Gentlemen,

THE many and eminent dangers occurring to this Kingdom of late years from its inteſtine Treacheries and Baſeneſs, have produced that conſternation, and that Jealouſie in the minds of all good people, as render them diffident both of their Friends and Fortunes, knowing no more which way to diſpoſe of their Eſtates, than their Affections: *A Kingdom divided within it ſelf, can never ſtand*: and this was our condition; when thoſe very men (the ſervants of the Publick) who ought to conduct and ſtand by us in the day of Battel, have been the Perſons in the World moſt likely to betray us, and lead us up like Sheep to the Slaughter. Thoſe *Danbean* Senators, from whoſe Wiſdom ſo much was expected; thoſe Penſionary Tribunes of the People, in the late long Parliament, from whoſe integrity ſo much was hoped, have, inſtead of ſecuring that Peace and Tranquility, that Religion and Property which all good men wiſh'd for, not only diſturb'd the one, but hazarded ruining the other; *Quid non mortalia pectora cogit, auri ſacra fames?* our Temple of *Janus* ſeems to be already unlock'd, and we have every hour reaſon to expect the *French* King ſhould fling open the doors; And then, if two or three hundred *Dutch* Mariners could preſent us with ſuch Horrour and apprehenſions, as we all know they did at their Arrival in *Chatham* River, how much greater now will our diſtraction be, when an Army of fifty or ſixty thouſand *French-men* is Landed amongſt us! When the Father muſt forſake his innocent and pretty Orphans, the Husband his diſconſolate and helpleſs Widow, leaving them to be murder'd by the Papiſts at home, whilſt he himſelf by his own death is compleating the Tragedy abroad! Are you not yet ſenſible of your condition? do you not yet perceive you approaching ruine? Think how the *French King* ſhakes his *Faſces* over us, when at the ſame time the Treacherous *Papiſt* renders us naked to his correction! Think how entirely your happineſs depends upon our Soveraign's Life;

and then reflect upon the many Attempts there have been to rob us of that Bleſſing! Think how many good ſufficient Houſe-keepers have no ſooner committed themſelves and Families to reſt, but by that dreadful noiſe of *Fire*, *Fire*, (occaſion'd by ſome Jeſuitical Malice) have been waken'd from their innocent ſlumbers, juſt time enough to behold their *All* conſum'd in a few hours, which they with the Sweat of their Brows have been ſo many years acquiring! Think how your Trading's loſt, and at the ſame time your Charges encreas'd, by keeping up a ſtanding Militia in your own defence! Think how your ancient Apoſtolick Religion, (for the which your Predeceſſors have not fear'd to die) is now upbraided and threatned by the Idolatrous Superſtition of an old Heatheniſh worſhip, under new Names, *viz. Popery*! Think how your Magiſtrates are murder'd before your eyes, for ſupporting that Liberty and Property whereby alone you ſubſiſt! That Property which entitles you to ſomething you may call your own, which having enjoy'd your ſelf, you may bequeath to your Poſterity after you: That Property which ſatisfies your hunger and thirſt with wholſom and ſubſtantial food, as good Beef, Mutton, *&c.* meats unknown to any in an abſolute Monarchy, under the degree of the Nobility: That Property which gives you wherewithall to protect your Nakedneſs from the violence of the ſeveral Seaſons: That Property which ſubmits your Taxes and Impoſitions to the will and diſcretion of your own Repreſentatives, who in all ſuch caſes have power to ſay, *Hitherto ſhall you come, and no farther*: Alſo that Liberty which gives the Subject of *England* a fair and equal Tryal againſt his King, the Tenant againſt his Lord, and the Servant againſt his Maſter; which preſerves unviolable the Rights of the meaneſt Peaſant, even in deſpite of the higheſt Prerogative; ſecuring both his Life and Fortune from all but the moſt juſt decree of twelve of his own Neighbours.

When at the ſame time, your Neighbours in *France*, *Spain*, and other Popiſh Governments, have no other ſecurity either for their Eſtates or Beings, ſave the grace or favour of their Prince; which renders them and their Poſterity perpetual Vaſſals to the Crown. When in *Sicily* you may behold many hundred Acres of rich Soyl lie untill'd, by reaſon of the vaſt Impoſitions laid upon them by the King of *Spain*. When in *France* upon any Holy-day you may behold whole Troops of Farmers, begging the charity of Paſſengers as they travel along the Road. Where their food and ſubſiſtance is, ſome courſe Bran-bread, a few Onions, Roots, and Water: or if ever they become ſo wealthy as to purchaſe a ſmall Joynt of Meat, then preſently ſo much muſt be allow'd to their Prince for ſuch a prodigal debauch. When their Farmers have ſcarce Cloaths ſufficient to cover their Nakedneſs, being contented to go in Wooden Shoes, and all things elſe proportionable; ſo that they are in a much worſe condition, than thoſe Poor to whom we pay Collection. When they can call nothing their own, ſince you may often ſee all that they have, to the very Cloaths on their

backs,

backs, taken from them by an Edict or Proclamation: and this for no other end, then to ſacrifice them to the luxurious deſire of Glory, (or rather deſtruction of Mankind) ſo inſeparable from abſolute Monarchy. There you may ſee the poor Tenant ground to Beggary, betwixt the Tax-gatherers on one hand, and the griping Landlords on the other. There you may behold the Merchants, Tradeſmen and Artificers, paying exceſſive *Gabels* or *Exciſe*, almoſt as much as the Commodity it ſelf is worth, for every Egg or bit of Bread they put in their mouths. Their very Labours are not their own; their very Stocks are borrow'd of them by Privy Seals (which is but a civil way of Robbing) without any hopes of ever being paid again either Principal or Intereſt: their Houſes expoſed to Free-quarters; and what not? Nothing is more uſual than to ſee a Nobleman, with a whole Train of Horſe and Attendants, ride over the poor peoples Corn when ready to Reap, and no man dares ask why they do ſo. Nothing more frequent then to have loaded Carts, Waggons, *&c.* compell'd to retire and give way to any giddy-headed Coxcomb on Horſe-back, that claims but the Title of *Chevalier*. Theſe and a thouſand more inconveniences are incident to Abſolute Monarchy, and Abſolute Monarchy incident to Popery; which is the only Reaſon that renders this Religion ſo amiable in the eyes of Princes.

Roma Orbem domuit, Romam ſed Papa ſubegit:
Viribus illa ſuis, fraudibus iſte ſuis.

Now for you the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, give me leave to tell you, that in this Matter you are no leſs concern'd than the Commonalty, ſince the more you enjoy, the more you have to loſe: And I think you have no reaſon to queſtion, but that if once the Government of Parliaments be ſupplanted by the Sword, you would ſoon be reſolv'd into the Body of the Commonalty; for I never obſerv'd a Red-coat in *Oliver*'s ſtanding Army, that ever made any difference between a Lord's Houſe and the meaneſt Farmer's; neither do I believe, that if there were no Parliaments, the priviledge of Peerage would long ſignifie any thing. And as for the Gentry, I know no priviledge they could pretend to, why their Eſtates ſhould be leſs obnoxious to Taxes, than thoſe of the meaneſt Commoner; however, if they ſhould be more favourably dealt with, it is but the Prince's courteſie, which he may continue or abrogate at his pleaſure. Therefore the Concern is univerſal, and he who betrays it, is no leſs a Traitor to himſelf in particular, than to his Country in general.

Having thus therefore expoſed thoſe misfortunes which ever attend upon Popery and Arbitrary Government, give me how leave to recommend to your more ſerious conſideration ſome remedy, whereby you may at leaſt hope to aſſwage the grief, if not to perfect the cure, of what you ſo much fear: And this can only be done, by ſearching to the bottom of our evils, *Radicem petere*, by retiring from the event to the cauſe, wherein, I fear, we may diſcover ſome Members of

the

the late Long Parliament to have acted a considerable part, being themselves the accessaries, but those that chose them the principals of all our present evils.

As we now have, so heretofore all other Nations had their *Ordines Regni*, or *States*, though distinguisht by different Names, such were the Fathers of Families, and Princes of Tribes among the *Jews*; the *Ephori* among the *Lacedemonians*; the *Senate* among the *Romans*; the *Forum superbiense* among the *Arragonians*; and now the *Dyet* among the *Germans*; all which in *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Spain*, are comprehended under the Name of *Parliaments*. But however the original institution of these were for one and the same purpose, *viz. Salus Populi*, the preservation of the people, as being all Governments of the mix'd or *Gothick* Model; yet they have most of them lost both their form and ends, for the which they were at first design'd, being subverted and degenerated, some into Republicks, as part of *Italy*, others into Tyranny, as *France* and *Spain*; where, by the cunning and address of some of their late Princes, by the servility and folly of the Nobility and Gentry, by the suppleness, treachery and fawning of the Clergy; as lastly, by the Ignorance and stupidity of the common people, in those Kingdoms where Popery had so long prevail'd, (in first giving up the power they had of raising Taxes, whereby their consent to the making of Laws was quickly after thought unnecessary) they are reduced to that pass, that their Parliaments are only to execute that Law which the King himself makes, to raise that Tax with the King himself levies, having a propriety in nothing but their own slavery. So that *England* at present seems to be the only place, which retains its primitive method of Rule by Parliaments, who (according to their first institution) serve as Council for the King, and Advocates for the People; and this when duly executed, without any fraud or partiality on either side, may be properly call'd a mixt or limited Monarchy, wherein the King hath his share in the Government, and (subordinate under him) the people theirs, being undoubtedly (when each move regularly within their own Sphere) the best Constitution for the good of both, that is yet extant in any part of the known World, provided it could always remain as it now stands, wherein we participate of the good, without any of the ill of all other Governments. But when either some disaffected Minister with the Prince, or some factious Subject with the people, shall out of their own private ends occasion a separation or different interest between them, then the Game being once begun, if the Court suit turns up Trump, we hazard running into a Tyranny and Popery; if the peoples, into a Republick and Presbytery; both which evils proceed from one and the same venomous humour, only differing as the Plague and the small Pox; where, in Popery as in the Plague, the venom resorts all into one *Bubo*, the *Pope*; when in Presbytery, like the small Pox, the malignancy or virulent matter is more dispersed into several little *Popes* or *Elders*, which therefore renders it the least dangerous of the two.

I cannot but be sensible, that to commend to *English* men the present Government under which we live, and that wise Institution of the *Great Council*, (as it was anciently,) or Parliament, (as it is now call'd;) some may think as needless, as to praise the usefulness and necessity of the Air we breath; since as we owe our subsistence to the one, so ought we to attribute all our happiness and well-being to the other; For that it is this Constitution, this conjunction of King and People, that hath in so many Ages preserv'd us from being expos'd to the Arbitrary will of *one single person*, who though he may happen sometimes to be wise, temperate and just, yet that is but casual, since in most private Families there are seen two descents of rash, prodigal and voluptuous Heirs, for one that is sober, prudent and thrifty. It is this that hinders the Subject from being given up as a Prey, not only to the will of the Prince, but (which is ten times worse) to the unreasonable passions and lusts of Favourites, chief Ministers and Women, when instead of a Monarch, (who Governs but in Name, as it often happens) be ruled like the ancient *French*, by an insolent *Major* of the *Palace*, who will be sure to mind the private interest of himself and family, ten times more than that of the Prince, or the publick Good; or like the *Turkish Empire*, under a weak *Grand-Seigneur*, by the prevailing Concubine of the *Seraglio*, who is perhaps her self manag'd by no higher dictates than that of her *chief Eunuch*, or *she-Slave*. I should not speak a word in a Subject so evident and perspicuous, did I not observe the impotent Ambition of some men, who care not (provided they may trample upon, and domineer over their inferiours,) how much their superiours do the like over them, their souls (like most insolent mens,) being mean enough to submit to it; or else through the ignorance and stupidity of some lazy insignificant Gentlemen, who care not how things go, provided they may enjoy their Hawks, Hounds, or Bowling-green meetings; and for Politicks, are governed by their *more impertinent Chaplain*, or Parson of their Parish. Did we not (I say) daily see the Designs of some idle, covetous and sycophant Clergy-men, who like Ivy, though it cannot grow without the support of the Oak, and yet will destroy it at last, do in private Parlours, over a Glass of Ale, as well as in their Pulpits, over their Cushions, set up absolute Monarchy to be *Jure Divino*, declaiming against the unreasonable stubbornness of any Parliament, that will not give away the peoples money, and submit themselves to be fleec'd, as often as the chief Minister or Favourite thinks fit. They cry up the Prince like an Angel, so long as he will be their Executioner, to whip, imprison or hang all that are not of their flock; or refuse to give up their Souls, once again to be managed by an implicit faith, whereby in the mean while they might not be troubled with those uneasie tasks of Studying, Preaching and Catechising, but may have nothing else to do only to live at ease, keep their Coach and Horses, with a Curate to do all the drudgery, whilst they are making their Addresses above, by flattering and informing at some great Nobleman's or Bishop's Table; or else if their parts reach so high, by some sycophant Pamphlet or Sermon against the Government establish'd by Law, they teach that men have no pro-

perty either in their Lives or Goods, but during the Prince's pleasure. It would be a tedious business, nor is it the design of this paper to repeat or Answer all their silly futillious Arguments upon this Subject; it is sufficient to tell them it can be easily proved, that the Institution of the *Wittena Gemots* or Great Councils, were more ancient than Christianity it self, amongst our *Saxon* Ancestors, and consequently that the People had their Representatives in those Assemblies, before the Bishops or *Romish* Clergy were so much as heard of in this Island, as Mr. *Petyt* in his late Ingenious Tract hath made appear; and that *Tithes* (their *Diana*) were granted by King *Ethelwolf*, (*Anno* 885.) in a general Council of *Earls*, great men, and an infinite number of other *Liege* men of the whole Land: *Vid. Spelmans Councils, fol.* 348. This is but a Taste of those many Presidents, which have been collected by learned Pens upon this Subject; therefore I shall say no more to these Gentlemen, but hope, that if ever their so much desired absolute Monarchy get uppermost, they may every one of them be obliged to maintain (as *William the Conqueror* made the *Monks* of *Ely*) upon free Quarter, a Trooper or Red-coat at least, to fight, as well as a Curate to Preach for them, out of their fat Benifices and Pluralties.

Since therefore at present we live under so happy a Government, where being securely landed our selves, we behold the Shipwrack of our Neighbours; and since notwithstanding the goodness of our Soveraign, (who (I hope) desires nothing less than the alteration or subversion of that Government, which as well by his Coronation Oath, as by his own Lenity and good Nature, he thinks himself oblig'd to preserve;) There are yet some, who out of their own private ends, endeavour to remove our ancient Land-marks, introducing Popery and Slavery amongst us. Since therefore it is so much the Interest of all true *English*-men to maintain these Priviledges, conveyed from their Ancestors through so many Generations inviolable, upon which all our happiness, safety, and well-being depends, I think no man in his Senses, but must confess, that the right way to maintain the end is to look to the means, and that is, by taking care what persons they choose for their Representatives, with whom alone they must trust their Estates, Lives and Liberties. Now this Government by Parliaments, however according to its primitive institution it was the best of all others, yet as well in that, as in Christianity, there hath been found out ways of corruption, and that is when either they sit too long, too seldom, or are too frequently Dissolv'd, for that too frequent Dissolutions are no less dangerous to the Subject than too long Sessions; nevertheless it may be in the Electors power to avoid the inconvenience of both, and that by making a good choice. Whereas if the Country people will sell all that they have for a Glass of Sack, or a pot of Ale, choosing him that will give them most Drink to day, though they know him to be a person who will sell both their Religion, Lives and Fortunes to morrow, then such frequent Dissolutious, must of necessity Ruin us; for that the honest Country-Gentleman, designing no other private advantage, but the true Service of his King and Country, hath no reason, neither is he able, once in half a year to spend 4 or 500 pounds, only to purchase a place full of charge, trouble and danger

without any profit to himself, only, to serve those who put him to such an unkind expence. Who ever knew a Coach man or Groom buy his place, unless he design'd to rob his Masters Bin? And the case is the same; for no man can afford to bid so high, as he that designs to make money again of his place. The *Italians* have a Proverb, and 'tis a true one, *That he who buys Justice must sell it again.* Therefore whoever you put to Charge in your Elections, blame him not if he makes money again of what he bought, for that you did not lend him your Trust, you sold it him, and what a man hath purchased with his own money, he may lawfully sell again. Now that man who does wilfully give his Voice for a Knave or Fool, doth his endeavour to Ruin both his Country, Himself and his Posterity, and to be as bad or worse than the person he chooses; when if the greater part of the House be Wiser or Honester, it is no thanks to him; and for his part, if none else were concerned with him, it were no matter if he were made a Slave to morrow, especially, since he cannot but be sensible how many have already declar'd, that they would sell their Country for a morsel of Bread; (for I look upon any consideration, though it be an Office or Pension in the Custom-House of 2000 pounds *per annum*, as no better in Ballance with that) so as if a considerable number of such men should get into the House (and we know that the children of darkness are wiser in their Generation than the children of light) in what a miserable condition were this poor Nation in at this Juncture of time? The old *Lord Treasurer Burleigh* (who is thought to have been the greatest States-man that ever this Nation bred) did frequently deliver as a Maxim, or rather as a Prophesy, *That* England *can hardly be undone, unless it be by her own Parliaments*, undoubtedly foreseeing that all other Oppressions as being wrought by Violence, might perhaps by Violence be in time shaken off again; whereas when in a Parliamentary way we are undone by a Law, that can never be reverst but by a down-right Rebellion, because the Parties advantaged by that Law will never agree to the repealing of it; and a Rebellion is both so dangerous and of so black a Character, as men either Rich or Conscientious will hardly engage in it; and therefore no publick mischief is so irrecoverable, as that which is grown into a Law, and that cannot be impos'd but by a Parliament. Wherefore as we tender our Religion, Liberties and Estates, we must (as much as in us lyes) choose a good House of Commons, since there never was a time wherein we more needed men of Wisdom, Courage and Integrity, who will not quit their Duty, either for want of consideration, for favour, reward or fear. The first and second of these Accomplishments I suspect not, for that in such a numerous Assembly there cannot want some wise bold men, who will be able to animate and instruct the rest: therefore I need only speak to their want of Integrity, or corruption from private Interest, which usually proceeds either from fear of losing what a Man now enjoys, or hope of gaining what he yet has not. For though men may talk high, and keep a great noise with Conscience, and Love to their Country, yet when you understand mankind aright, (not as it should be, but as it is, and ever will be) then will you find, that private Interests is the string in the *Bears* Nose;

it is that which governs the Beast. Therefore by this Observation we may guess, who are fittest to be chose Members of Parliament, and who are not.

First, *Avoid all such as hold any Office of considerable value during pleasure*; they being subject to be over-aw'd. For although a man wish well to his Country, and in the betraying thereof knows that at the long run he mischieves his posterity, if not himself, yet the narrowness of mens minds is such, as makes them more tenderly apprehend a small present damage, than a far greater hereafter. Such men must of necessity be under a great temptation and distraction, when their Consciences and Interest look different ways, especially having observ'd some men turn'd out of their Employs, after voting for the Interest of their Country, as Mr. *Garraway* was. Therefore since these men know before-hand the Inconveniencies, that attend the Trust of a Member of Parliament faithfully discharg'd, 'tis very suspicious and reflecting upon their honesty, if any such stand; and I think we are bound in Charity, nor can we do them a greater courtesie, than to answer their Petition in the Lords Prayer, Not to lead them into temptation.

Secondly, *Suspect all those* (men of ill repute) *who in their Profession or near Relations have any dependancy upon the Court*; for they (unworthily) guessing at the King by themselves, are apt to vote right or wrong, as they imagine will most please the Prerogative party. And perhaps this fancy helpt the Earl of *Danby* to that favour, which hindred him from coming upon his Trial the former Session. It is a hard matter for a Courtier to please that Minister who supports him, and those whom he represents at the same time; and if he endeavours to oblige both, he becomes such an uncertain Weathercock, as most commonly he pleases neither. Wherefore the most prudent and honestest of the Courtiers are observed to decline being Parliament-men, for this very Reason.

Thirdly, *Suspect all such as spend much upon you in Entertainments at their Elections*: for that (as I told you before) he who buys any Office, designs to make Money of it again. And then consider with your selves, what Loosers you will be, if to laugh and be merry one day, the Person you choose should give You and your Children occasion to mourn for ever after! Think how justly the ancient Heathens may upbraid this baseness of us Christians, when, as they sacrificed many of their Children, nay, and oftentimes their own Lives for the good of their Country; so on the contrary, do we sacrifice both our Religion, Lives, and Country, for the pleasure of one days debauchery.

Fourthly, *Shun all such men as are desperately in Debt*: for they needing Protection from paying of their Debts, are so afraid of being Dissolv'd, as makes them submit to any thing, rather than be left to the unmerciful Rage of their hungry Creditors, who have so long fasted for their Money. For all such Persons (though some of them may be look'd upon as honest fair-condition'd Gentlemen, and good House-keepers) are in danger of being tempted to repair the decays of their own private Fortunes, by the Ruine of the Publick. Moreover, the chooling of such broken Fortunes, undoes Trade, ruines whole Families, and I

have

have known it drive many men (contrary to their own inclinations) to wish never to see Parliaments more in *England*.

Fifthly, Avoid all such as have been known Favourers of Papists; or Relations or Friends to any of the Lords in the Tower; *Nay beware of any that shall be recommended to you by such as are so.* (let them be never so Great men in your Countries) unless you intend to have their Friends to be their Judges. For when any person shall out of a private Interest of his own, Elect, or give his Voice for one who is either a Friend or Relation to *Him* that stands Impeach'd by all the Commons of *England* of High-Treason, he does in such a Case, as much as in him lies, endeavour to destroy the Kingdom, by saving the Life of its Enemy; for that if all other Electors should do the same, he might live to perfect that Ruine amongst us, which otherwise he must leave unfinished: An Act no less unnatural, than for a man to sell a Pardon to him that murder'd his own Father! If the former wise Parliament thought it reasonable (as they did) to Vote *him a Betrayer of the Rights and Privileges of the Commons of England*, who should dare to plead at Bar in behalf of the Earl of *Danby*; let not those who choose his nearest Relations and Friends for his Judges, think themselves less faulty than he that should have pleaded for him after the aforesaid Vote, since the design of both is the same, *viz.* the saving of his Life. Therefore if any do so, may their shame be their confusion.

Sixthly, Above all others choose not any of those who have been justly noted as by the name of Pensioners, as being the worst and basest of Traytors; who making Shipwreck of all Honour, Honesty, and good Conscience, sell their Votes for Offices, present Gratuities, or constant Pensions. The first notorious brood of these Vermin, were in the Old Long Parliament called by the name of *Sir Jeffery*; but the late *Lord Treasurer's* Creatures were in greater numbers, more voracious, and of more universal Obedience, or as the *French* call it, *Sans Reserve*. They by the former excellent House of Commons, are for their *Secret Service* branded by the open name of *Pensioners*, which they will hardly claw off, notwithstanding the Parliaments Dissolution, hath, as yet rescued them from other punishment. However, that the Populace might not split twice upon the same Rock, my request is, that before they go to any Election, they would peruse Sir *Stephen Fox's* Catalogue both of such Persons and Sums as he recollected in his memory, without the help of his Books which upon some weighty Reasons (above us Vulgar peoples searching into) was denied him. Now this *Pensionary* Institution of the Treasurers, was certainly of great advantage to himself, and most pernicious to *England*; for if he did really distribute such sums as is pretended, then he might in a short time make and repeal what Laws he pleas'd; or if he did not distribute them, then to his own enriching, he might by an untrue accompt, divert a vast Treasure into his own Purse.

Seventhly and Lastly, As for you Citizens, Burgesses, and Freemen of Corporations and Cities, I shall say but little to you in particular, more than what hath been said already in general; only, *whoever is unfit to be chosen Knight of the Shire, is likewise unfit to be chosen a Burgess.* Neither let the most specious pretences of any man, (that shall promise to build

you a Town-Hall, or relieve your Poor with Mony, (or out of his adjacent Woods) deceive you any longer; for if ſo, wherein are you better than your Horſes, whom you catch every day, and clap a Bridle into their Mouths, only by ſhewing them a few *Oats*, which they are never like to Eat. Even the very Mice are too wiſe to be taken by an old Bait, but will firſt have the Trap new baited, before they'l meddle; and yet I have known a Corporation, which has been taken twice by the ſame Bait. But however ſuppoſe theſe men do really perform what they promiſe, what compenſation is that, if that the men you chooſe ſhould lay a good ſwinging Tax upon your Eſtates, without any real cauſe; or ſhould give up the very Power you have of Taxing your ſelves, or ſending your Repreſentatives in Parliament, (for one bad Parliament may ruine us,) what good would the Mony for your Poor do you in ſuch a caſe, more than when you thereby reduced to Beggery, you might perhaps your ſelves (the Gentry of the Country having no reaſon to relieve you) be forced to come in for a ſmall ſhare of this their Hypocritical Charity: An excellent reward for Folly. Neither ſay, Oh, this is but one man, and can have but one Voice; he will do our Town a great deal of good, and can do us but little hurt if he would. For that, firſt, one or two Voices have ſometimes carried a Vote of great importance; and ſecondly, you know not the bad example this may give to other Neighbouring Corporations, and if all ſhould do ſo, in what a miſerable caſe would you be? ſince the Voices of the Burroughs make two thirds of the Houſe. Laſtly, no man can tell the influence that one cunning talkative man hath over the reſt of the Houſe, eſpecially over thoſe that weigh Words, more than Reaſon or Senſe. But I ſhall ſay no more upon this ſubject, only deſire you to remember *Eſau*, who ſold his Birth-right for a meſs of Pottage, and could never afterwards recover it, though he ſought it with Tears: Alſo, when once you had Elected ſuch a corrupt Parliament, no Prince (but ſo juſt and gracious a Prince as ours) would ſuffer you to get rid of 'em in haſt, or at leaſtwiſe till they had done your buſineſs for you.

Having thus therefore ſhew'd you what perſons you ought not to chooſe, ſo now in the next place, the more clearly to perceive what kind of perſons our preſent neceſſity requires to be choſen, conſider for what ends they ſerve, and they are two: One is, the preſervation of our Religion from *Popery*; The other is, to preſerve inviolably our *Liberty*, and *Property*, according to our known Laws of the Land, without (any) introduction of that abſolute and arbitrary rule in other Countries, which we are neither to imitate or regard.

Firſt, Therefore as near as we can gueſs, *we ought to elect good Proteſtants towards God and juſt towards Men*. But foraſmuch as in this corrupt Age wherein we live, men are not ſo ſpiritual as they ought to be, it is not amiſs to ſeek for thoſe, whoſe ſpiritual intereſts is ſeconded by a temporal one. Wherefore the ſureſt Champions for our Religion againſt the Papacy, are our *Abby landed-men*; for notwithſtanding the registred Diſpenſation to *Harry* the Eighth from the Pope, for the ſeizing of thoſe Monaſteries and Lands, yet of late they pretend that the Pope had not

power to alien them from the Church; wherefore the preſent poſſeſſors can never truſt or rely upon any new Promiſes or actual Grants thereof, eſpecially from him whoſe everlaſting and declared Maxim it is, *Never to keep Faith with Hereticks*. Undoubtedly to make eaſy his aſcent into the ſaddle, he will proffer many Aſſurances and Grants; But if theſe Abby-landed men, be not the moſt ſilly of all others, they will never believe him; for when he is once firmly ſettled, then will with his Canon-Law diſtinctions, like Fire under Quick-ſilver evaporate away all his promiſes, and violently reſume the Lands, glorifying in his own Bounty, if he require not the mean profits: — *habeat jam Roma Pudorem.*

Secondly, For our Liberty and Property, *men of fair Repute in their Country, are of all others moſt likely to prove the ſtouteſt Patriots, eſpecially if in Poſſeſſion or Reverſion they are men of good Eſtates*; for their Concern is the greater: And we find by experience of ſuch as Travel into forreign parts, where themſelves have no Eſtates, *Facile habetur paupertas ſine damno*; and accordingly when War and Confuſion begins to ariſe, they apprehend it not with the hundredth part of that anxiety, as they would do if the like ſhould ariſe at home, where their whole livelyhood is at ſtake.

Thirdly and laſtly, I conceive it will not be amiſs, if for the moſt part you chooſe the ſame Members again that ſerv'd you faithfully the laſt time; ſince in ſo doing, you will both take off that fear of Diſſolutions, which is of ſuch fatal conſequence in a Parliament, as alſo oblige them to ſerve you more chearfully ever after, when you have ſo highly honoured them twice. Now to this purpoſe, give me leave here to inſert a Preſident worthy both the Conſideration and Imitation of all the Shires and Corporations in *England*; It is a moſt generous Letter written (ſince this late Prorogation) to Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* and Sir *Henry Calverly* from the honeſt Burgeſſes of *North-Allerton* in *York-ſhire*, (Dated *Jan.* 14.) in theſe Words:

Gentlemen,

The unexpected and ſudden News of this days Poſt preventing us from thoſe due acknowledgments, which the Greatneſs of your Services for Publick Good have merited from us, we have no better way (now left us) to expreſs our Gratitude and the high reſentments of your Actions before, and in the laſt Seſſions of Parliament; than to manifeſt our approbation thereof, by an Aſſurance that if a Diſſolution of this preſent Parliament happen, (ſince you have evidenced ſa ſufficiently your affection to His Majeſties Royal Perſon, and your endeavours for preſerving the Proteſtant Religion, our Lives and Liberties,) we are reſolved (if you pleaſe to comply with us) to continue you both as our Repreſentatives, and do therefore humbly beg your acceptance thereof; and farther, that you will continue your Station during this Prorogation, faithfully aſſuring you, that none of Us deſire to give, or occaſion you the Expence or Trouble of a Journey in order to your Election, (if ſuch happen) being ſo ſenſible of the too great expence you have been at already, in carefully diſcharging the Truſt and Confidence repoſed in You: Subſcribed by above Sixty, whoſe Worth and Loyalty deſerve Immortal Fame, and to be Recorded as an Honourable Example both now and hereafter, for all other Corporations; which being all the Advice I can give you in this Matter, I ſhall conclude with deſiring you not to be wea-

ry

ry of well-doing, neither to be alarm'd or troubled at frequent Prorogation or Dissolutions; since if you persist in the same steady course you have already begun, it will but fall more heavily upon the heads of those that are the contrivers of these Misunderstandings between his Gracious Majesty, and his most faithful Subjects, for whose happy union, as well in opinion as affection, none can pray more heartily, than

Your most Humble Servant,

and Fellow Subject,

C. B.

POST-SCRIPT.

WHat I have here written, I do declare before Almighty God, proceeded meerly from the earnest Zeal and desire I had of serving my King and Country; hoping by this timely caution to the Vulgar, to procure such Senators, as might add to the Lustre of our King, and safety of our Government, such as might keep the Ballance even, and prevent our running either into Tyranny and Popery on the one hand, or into a Republick and Fanaticism on the other: such as might divert that Storm which threatens us, giving us that Peace and that Tranquility, which all men, who have either Estates or Families (like my self) are bound to pray for; such as might render to *Cesar* the things that are *Cesars*, and to God the things that are God's, and to the People the things that are the Peoples. For as I am govern'd by no private Faction or Interest, but purely by the dictates of my own Conscience and Reason; so there is no Government but our *English* Monarchy, nor no Religion but what is prescribed in the Church of *England*, that I hope ever to see prevail amongst us, We have an old Proverb, and 'tis true as to our Condition, *Over Shoes over Boots*; so that now both City and Commons have proceeded thus far in opposing Popery, they cannot be safe but in doing more; for that 'twill be too late to repent, when a never-forgiving Popish Successor shall come amongst us, with that Text in his mouth of St. *Luke* 19. 27. *But those mine enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring them hither and stay them before me.* ——— Wherefore to prevent all this ruine and misery, we cannot too often and too sincerely pray for the Life, Happiness, and Prosperity of our Sovereign, *Charles the Second*, whom God preserve both in this World and the next; which is the constant Prayer of his most obedient and faithful Subject,

C. B.

FINIS.

133112